3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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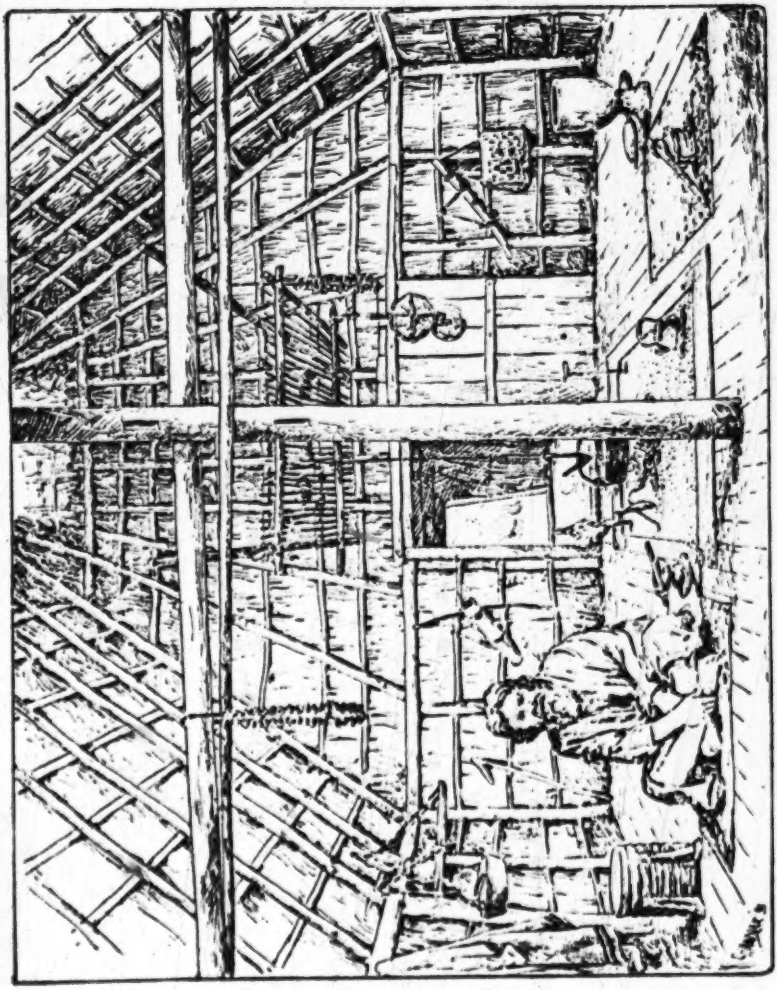

INTERIOR OF HOUSE, BITSKAI.

[Facing p. 452]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough *kinna* (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables[1] adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

[1] Small Japanese dinner tables.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

The other contrivance in Ainu huts which strikes one as being simple but clever is the hook suspended over the fire. The rope is passed over a rafter. One end of it is fastened to the hook, the other, as shown in the illustration, to a piece of wood through which the hook has previously been passed.

ROASTING HOOK.

Mat-making is closely allied to weaving, and is worked entirely on the same principle, but without the aid of any kind of machinery. The bulrushes are crossed and woven coarsely, and plaited flat. One of these mats is used in Ainu huts as a door—"the *Apa Otki*." A smaller one is hung over or by the window.

Naturally, Ainu huts are somewhat draughty The imperfectness of the door and window-fittings, the large outlet for the smoke, besides the wind which finds its way through the thatched walls, make Ainu dwellings "ideal" to anyone wishing to "catch his death of cold." The Ainu do not much mind it.

The roof is low, and from it hang the winter provisions of dried salmon captured during the autumn. This gives an additional odour to the already strong scent of the hut—an "ancient fish-like smell," not redolent of the perfumes of Arabia. The smoke inside the hut is so dense when there happens to be a fire burning that one's eyes stream with involuntary tears, and one is nearly choked. When the days are short in winter the Ainu sometimes light their dwellings with a stick to which is fastened a piece of animal fat. It is hung up aloft, and when the lower end is lighted the fat slowly melting serves to feed the flame and keep this primitive lamp alight. Another mode of illumination is by firing a lighted piece of birch bark on a stick previously split at the upper end. The third way is by filling a large shell with fish-oil and burning in it a few strings of elm-fibre. None of these methods come much into use for everyday life, as, unlike the negroes, the Ainu are not fond of sitting up at night, except on extraordinary occasions; and when by chance they do sit up it is by the light of the fire only.

If a stranger stops for the night in an Ainu hut, he is made to sleep directly under the east window; but the family take good care to sleep all together on the north side, which is the

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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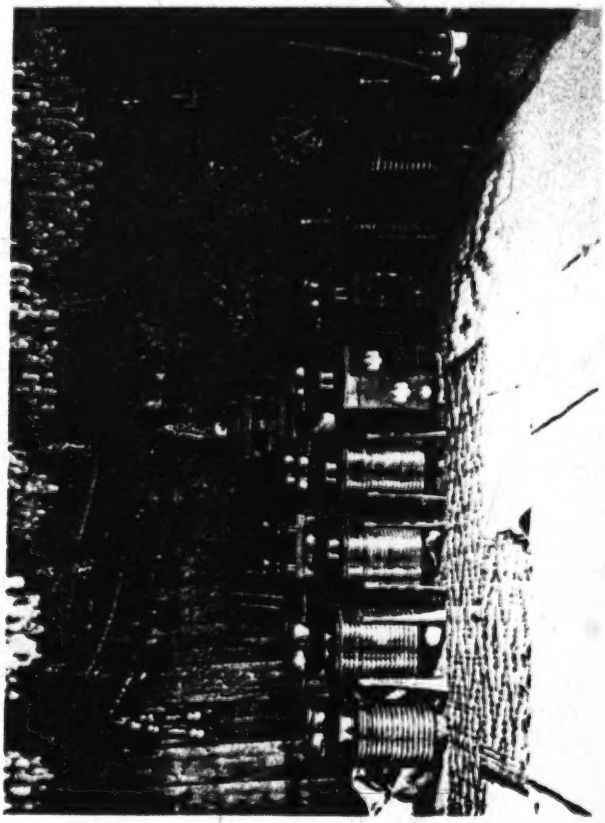

PLATE XII. Household treasures.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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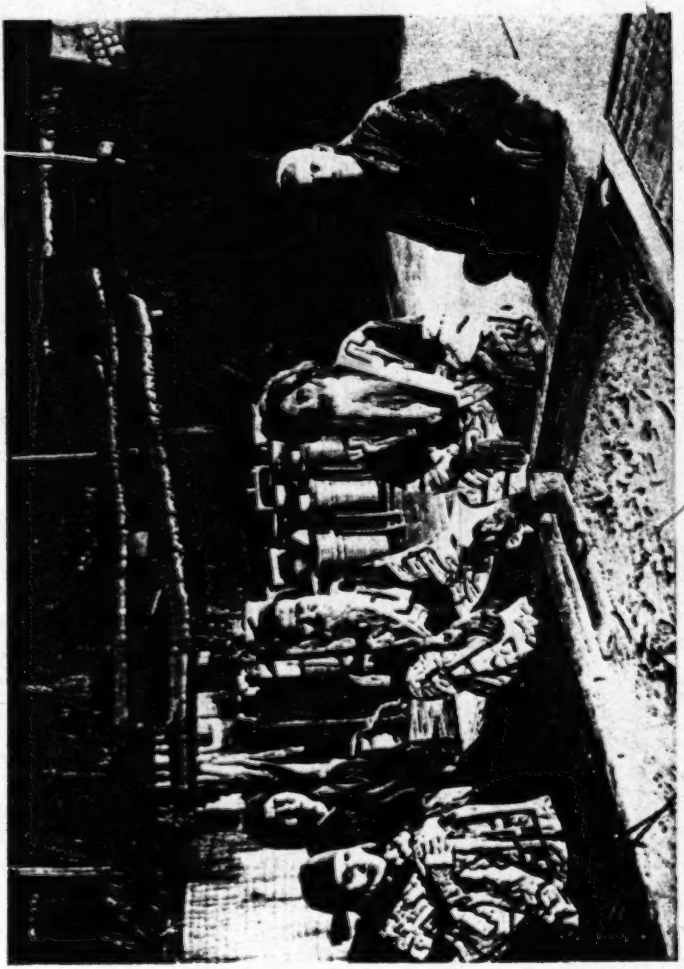

PLATE XIV. Inside the house, the householder sitting at the north-east corner of the hearth with the pothook hanging beside him.

[p. 30, (N)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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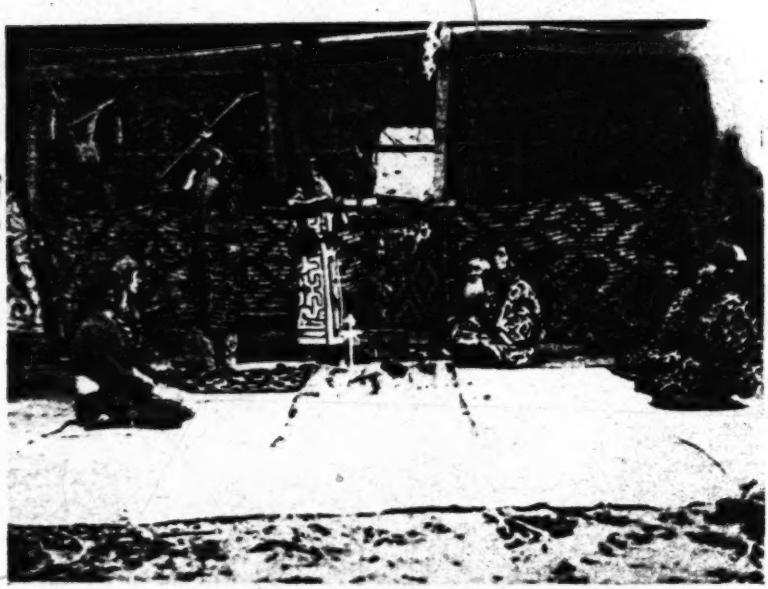

Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

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Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-
[192] in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.[1] Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

[177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

● [353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned
[766] babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk
[775] pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed
[776] to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

[556] In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of
[784] the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam
[776] Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

[231] [1] When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In
[173] legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was
[174] covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu. —B.Z.S.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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evil spirits, and the faithful Ainu dog against bad men. Ainu honesty was, however, such that a house was generally safe but for resentful intrusion. A backward-shaven *inau* was inserted in the wall at the side of or above the entrance. This was an offering made anew for all ceremonial occasions. Curled shavings were attached at the entrance, above windows, and in corners where mischievous spirits might lurk.

Text fig. 2 shows the ground-plan of an average Ainu house. Facing the entrance (A) is the hearth (1) (*abe-shotki*), literally fire-bed. The hearth varies in size with the area of the room from about 5 to 8 feet in length and 3 to 5 feet in width. It is surrounded by a heavy wooden frame (*inumbe*) (2), which retains the ashes and defines the hearth as orientated in a line from the entrance to the sacred window. The foot of the hearth near the doorway is called *abe-kesh*, and the space near it where the women and children sit is called *usara* (B). The space at the sides is called fireside (*abe-sam*) (C).

The head of the hearth is the *abe-etok* or *hoka-etok*, head of the fire. Between this and the sacred window (F) is the space, known as *rorun* (D), of uncertain meaning. The sacred window is *rorun puyara*, a mere hole in the wall, formerly closed by a mat. Rennui-kesh told me of an old song and ritual dance with which the sunshine was greeted at this window.

At each of the top corners of the hearth, and projecting slightly above the *inumbe*, was a round post driven into the ground (4). These posts were called things-at-the-top of the hearth-frame (*inumbe-sa-ush-pe*). The one on the right hand, facing the entrance, the conventional seat of the house-owner, served as a work bench for marking implements, etc. This lent it peculiar importance, and when the house-owner died it was customary to pull it up and not replace it until the heir was in possession or the widow remarried. The latter seldom happened unless she married her husband's brother.

This post was not thrown away but given ritual dismissal. Before its removal prayer was made to Kamui Fuchi and then to Nusa-koro Kamui. According to Nisukrekguru it was then taken through the sacred window and reverently laid to rest at the soul *nusa*, but Tekatte Fuchi, a bright and reliable lady of eighty-four - a veritable mine of tradition—is equally certain that it was deposited with Nusa-koro Kamui. There, disused things were left, but not

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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from lack of respect; the post had two curled shaven *inau* attached to it before its dismissal, and the same lady is sure that libations were made to it on festal occasions. Nisukrekguru has seen elders emptying the last few drops from their cup on the hearth post.

Grave goods are purposely broken to free their *ramat* for spirit service to the deceased but so far as I know this post was never buried with the dead, however useful it may have been to the living. There is ground for believing that it was regarded as representing one of the ancestral spirits known as *shinrit* or, less familiarly, as *anaishiri* (the disembodied). Wherever the abode of the dead (Kamui Kotan) may be, whether in the sky or below ground, the hearth is regarded as the entrance to it. In the north the spirits of the dead are known as the spirits dwelling beneath the hearth (Abe-ra-un Kamui). Whenever in time of trouble a mighty ancestor is invoked through Kamui Fuchi (never directly, and rarely if ever by name) he is supposed to emerge through the hearth. In this district at any rate the posts themselves were called *tumunji*[1] *kamui*, powerful *kamui*.

The hearth is the abiding place of the *ramat* of Kamui Fuchi, and this is concentrated at the centre (*hoka nosuke*) (3). An elder, before making a special invocation, will gently pull out some glowing embers from the centre to draw attention to his petition. Every night the fire is carefully covered with ashes and rarely goes out. When it is thus covered, Kamui Fuchi is said to be asleep. During that time no prayers are addressed to her. To heap up ashes so that the fire is kept in till morning needs experience and care. Woe betide the woman who failed to keep the fire alive; there was no worse sin than neglect to provide fuel for Kamui Fuchi, who reared all Ainu at her hearth. Such neglect ranked with adultery as a reason for divorce.

Only before the Falling Tears ceremony is a burnt offering of food made, and in this case it is a little of that taken out as an oblation to the dead. All food, however, at any ceremony, is supposed to be Kamui Fuchi's, and is placed on or near the hearth before distribution to guests. As we have seen, certain *inau* were erected on the hearth and burnt in her honour. The hearth was

[1] Whatever the derivation of this word may be, it is applied to something powerful. A volcano near Lake Akan is called *tumunji kamui*, and was worshipped before a fight. Batchelor, in his dictionary, translates it as 'the Devil' or 'Evil spirits', but the Ainu of Nibutani did not associate the word with evil power. —B.Z.S.

[P. 59]

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Sacred Fences for Inau
dedicated to various Kamui

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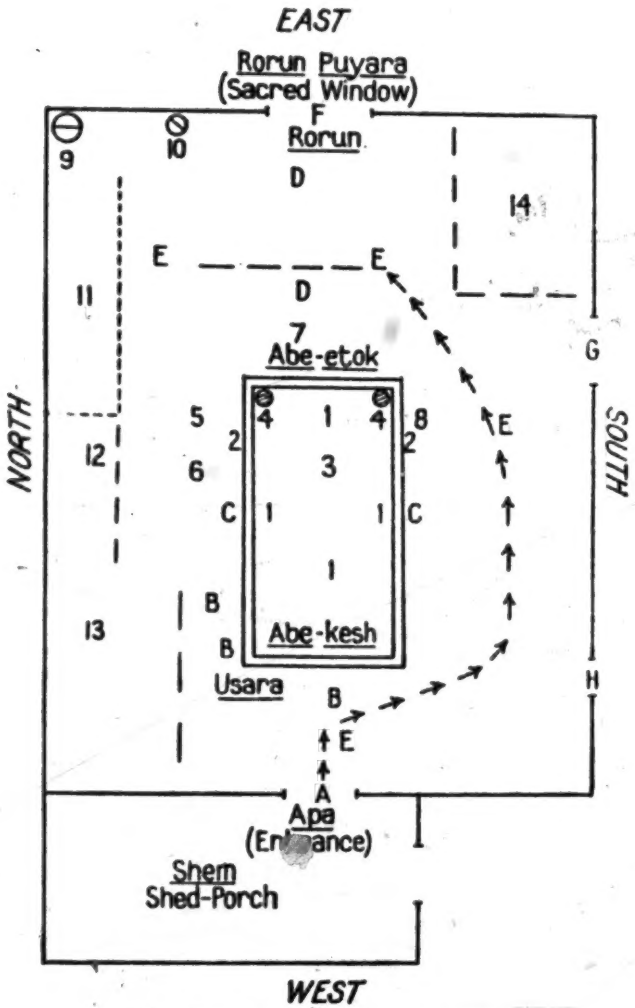

TEXT FIGURE 2.—Plan of Ainu house.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder would not expose his soles to it.

Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire, ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower end of the hearth.[1] Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was. Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

In this district there were definite positions around the hearth assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes according to their social standing. Customary positions are indicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5), with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious, could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9). Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*, which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a *shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-koro Kamui can just be seen.

Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11) near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered. The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasionally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[1] After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.[1]

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

[1] The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *huchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

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HEARTH AND HOME

workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they were knife-worked.

The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true, are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings. These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached wherewith they are hung over the shoulder.

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Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil. Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins. This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious, *ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends, the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from *nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*, shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

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No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes and things under feminine control, including some things prepared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*), and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing (*kembe*).

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Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*nui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tuki-num*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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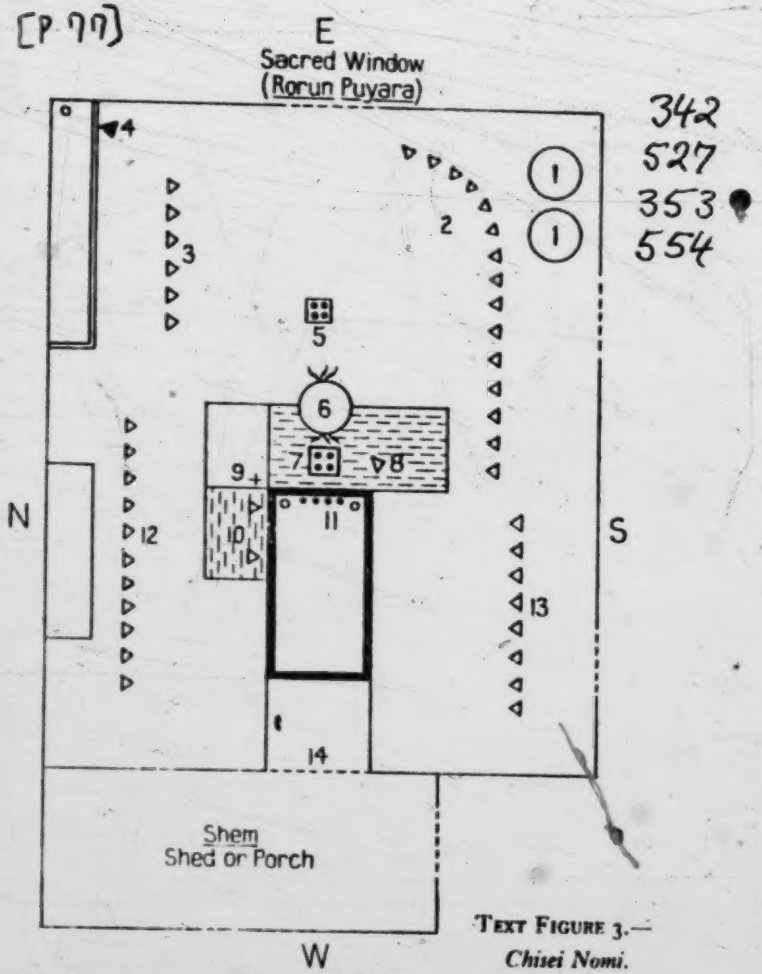

TEXT FIGURE 3.—*Chisei Nomi.*

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikubashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-so*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

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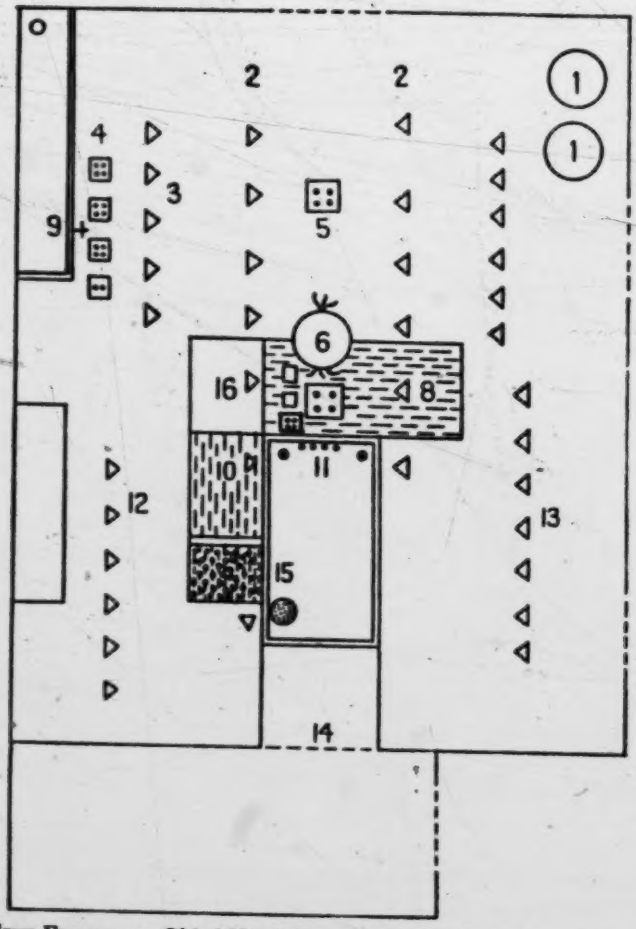


TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshophi*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.

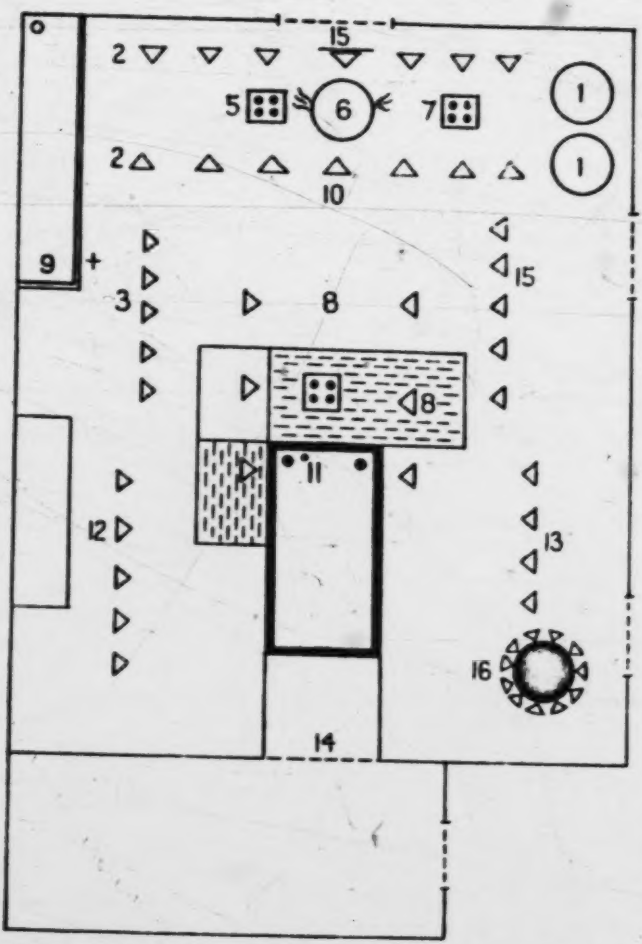
Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.

The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.

15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

[P. 95]



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TEXT FIGURE 5.—Festivity after the *Shinurapa*: the *Shi-iku* (wassail) *U-eshopki* (mutual sitting).

2. Formation of the *shi-iku* (wassail or real drinking) *u-eshopki* (mutual sitting).
5, 7. Trays for food.
8. The two rows of a small *u-eshopki* at right angles to 2. The 8 on the mat is the position of the honoured guest in the *u-eshopki*.
10. Householder or deputy.
11. One backward-shaven *inau* left after the *shinurapa*.
15. Position of the *sake-iush guru* or wine controller.
16. Women sitting around the lid of a large *shintoko*, singing *upopo*, and tapping or beating it.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
AB6 Ainu AB6

dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offerings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to come and bless the festival with their presence.

Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling, the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Outside the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually, is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its captivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly adhered to.

After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit. The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys. The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, perhaps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-